

# THE COMMUNIST

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## The I. W. W. and the Proletarian Revolution.

The July issue of the One Big Union Monthly carries an article with the caption "What is Bolshevism?" and proceeds to answer the question in true I. W. W. style—not only exposing their ignorance of Bolshevism, but displaying an antipathy and hatred of Bolshevism or Communism which can only be equalled by Right Wing Socialists, or bourgeois pacifists of the Bertrand Russell type.

After taking the usual fling at the American Bolsheviks (Communists) they continue:

"In their revolutionary ardor (with their jaw), they have plumb forgotten to look up what Bolshevism really is, what it has done and what it tries to accomplish. Should this magazine fall into the hands of some of these soviet maniacs, they will have a good chance to enlighten themselves by reading these official accounts."

The official accounts which the One Big Union Monthly reprints are taken from some May issues of the magazine Soviet Russia dealing with the socialization of agriculture, the economic reconstruction and the co-operative movement in Soviet Russia.

Having diligently perused the accounts in question, the I. W. W. editor, with the perspicacity of his kind, discovered (?) that Bolshevism is not a political theory, but a poor imitation of the theory of industrial unionism applied to an industrially backward and largely agricultural country, with little or no success.

And he proves this by posing the following four questions and answering them all in the negative: (1) Is private ownership abolished in Russia? (2) Is private control of the means of production and distribution abolished in Russia? (3) Is wage slavery abolished in Russia? (4) Is Socialism established in Russia?

Were we inclined to be facetious we might retort that there is a little pamphlet entitled "AN APPEAL BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO THE I. W. W." issued in Moscow and published by the Communist Party of America, which takes up the question of what Bolshevism or Communism really is; should this pamphlet ever fall into the hands of these anti-Bolshevik "maniacs" they "will have a good chance to enlighten themselves" by reading this official document addressed to themselves by the leaders of Bolshevism in Russia. But we refrain for obvious reasons—chief among which is the conviction that the leaders and the theoreticians of the I. W. W. are impervious to learning. Like Bourbons, they "forget nothing and learn nothing."

John Sandgren and his type are not new opponents of Bolshevism. Their antagonism dates back to the days when the Bolsheviks overthrew the Kerensky regime and established the Workers' Government—the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet Government in Russia. They have fought the Bolshevik idea in this country as bitterly as the Right Wing Socialists, whose spiritual brothers they are. They have never missed an opportunity of damning Bolshevism in Russia and have fought the Communists in this country in the most approved Scheidemann manner—no lie was too strong, no insinuation too base to fling at them. In this same July issue, Sandgren in a signed article, fairly reveals in the dirtiest kind of mud-slinging at the Communist movement and its representatives both here and abroad.

That such a vile creature can still edit the official organ of the I. W. W. is the best kind of proof of the reactionary character of its leadership and the counter-revolutionary tendencies of the organization.

Our answer is not intended for the leaders and would-be theoreticians of the I. W. W. We address ourselves directly to the revolutionary rank and file, over the heads of their opportunist, reactionary leaders.

It is apparent that the membership of the I. W. W. are not quite conscious of what Bolshevism really is, else such articles as its magazines and papers have published for the last two and a half years would have ceased long ago. Nor could the non-revolutionary decisions of its last convention (which have placed their organizations in the same category with all other labor unions) ever have been enacted had its membership a clear understanding of the meaning of Bolshevism.

The I. W. W. makes the same error as all other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opponents of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, they confuse proletarian dictatorship with Communism. And since the Soviet Government, which is the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia has not yet abolished classes, has not yet taken all the means of production and distribution out of private hands, has not yet completely destroyed the profit system and established Communism, ergo, the Soviet Government is a fraud imposed upon the workers and peasants of Russia by the Bolsheviks!

Those who make this argument, whether they label themselves "Socialists" or "I. W. W." or "W. I. U." are all of the same stripe.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class of exploiters, capitalists and landowners has not disappeared and could not have disappeared. The capitalist class has been overthrown but not abolished. They have been replaced as the ruling class, but the class struggle itself has not disappeared. The class struggle does not disappear under the proletarian dictatorship—it takes a different form.

The exploiters "retain the basis of international capitalism, of which they are part and parcel. They still possess some means of production, as well as money and extensive social connections. Their power of resistance has increased a hundred, nay, a thousand fold by the very fact of their defeat. Their ability in State, military and economic administration, affords them a great superiority, so that their importance is considerably out of proportion to their numerical strength, as compared with the whole population." (Lenin.)

The proletarian revolution, by the act of conquering and destroying the capitalist state and establishing the proletarian dictatorship, has only taken the first step in the direction of establishing the Communist society. The process is long and difficult, requiring superhuman courage, will and determination. Right here the I. W. W. differ with the Communists. The I. W. W. are opposed to all forms of the state, to the proletarian state as well as the capitalist state. Ostensibly, they refuse to see the necessity of a workers' state in the transition period from Capitalism to Communism. The I. W. W. are content to keep on building their industrial unions under the rule of capitalism, until such time as the great majority of the workers have been organized into industrial unions, when these organized workers simply are to "seize the industries and lock out the capitalists who must then go to work or starve."

But the process is not as simple as that, even if it were possible and desirable to wait so long. It is impossible to organize all the workers, or even a majority of the workers into industrial unions under capitalism. The power of the capitalist class, their control of the press, the schools, the colleges, the church, the halls, etc., to say nothing of the capitalist state machinery, the army, navy, police, the courts, the bureaucracy, give them sufficient power over the working class both mentally and physically, to make this process as utopian an undertaking as trying to emancipate the working class by means of the ballot-box.

But there is another and more cogent reason at this time, why it is impossible for the class conscious workers to attempt the hopeless task of organizing all the workers into industrial unions in order to abolish capitalism at one stroke.

"Capitalism, ruined by the world war, unable any longer to contain within itself the tremendous forces it has created, is breaking down. The hour of the working class has struck. The Social Revolution has begun, and... on the Russian plain, the first vanguard battle is being fought. Higher does not ask whether we like it or not, whether the workers are ready or not. Here is the opportunity. Take it and the world will belong to the workers; leave it—there may not be another for generations. Now is no time to talk of building the new society within the shell of the old. THE OLD SOCIETY IS CRACKING ITS SHELL. THE WORKERS MUST ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, WHICH ALONE CAN BUILD THE NEW SOCIETY."

Those who, at this late date, after the world war, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, with the incontrovertible fact of the collapse of world capitalism staring them in the face, still deny the necessity of throwing aside all preconceived utopian schemes for the emancipation of the working class through industrial unionism or the ballot box, are inherently OPPOSED TO THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, OPPOSED TO MASS ACTION CULMINATING IN ARMED INSURRECTION AND CIVIL WAR AGAINST THE CAPITALIST STATE, OPPOSED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CAPITALIST STATE, OPPOSED TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AS THE ONLY MEANS OF INTRODUCING THE COMMUNIST SOCIETY AND THEREFORE OPPOSED TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF.

Either you are for the workers' revolution or you are against it. There cannot be two ways about it. All the opposition to the C. P. by the "yellow" Socialists or the I. W. W. is so much sand thrown into the eyes of the working class, to hide their opposition to the proletarian revolution itself and the only means by which to accomplish it—armed insurrection and civil war against the capitalist state.

Capitalism cannot be abolished at one stroke, and the destruction of the capitalist state does not mean that capitalism automatically and immediately disappears. "The capitalists still have arms, which must be taken away from them; they are still supported by hordes of loyal bureaucrats, managers, superintendents, foremen, and trained men of all sorts, who will sabotage industry—and these must be persuaded or compelled to serve the working class; they still have army officers who can betray the Revolution, preachers who can raise superstitious fears against it, teachers and orators who can misrepresent it to the ignorant, thugs who can be hired to discredit it by evil behaviour, newspaper editors who can deceive the people with floods of lies, and "yellow" Socialists and Labor fakers who prefer capitalist "democracy" to the Revolution. All these people must be sternly suppressed.

"To crush capitalist resistance and disarm the capitalist class, to confiscate capitalist property and turn it over to the WHOLE WORKING CLASS IN COMMON,—for all these tasks a Government is necessary—a State, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, in which the workers, through their Soviets, can uproot the capitalist system with an iron hand."

Is not this sufficient proof of the necessity of a Workers' State in the transition period?

Of course this Workers' State, a temporary institution, cannot abolish capitalism and the classes at one stroke. If that were possible there would be no need for the state. The proletarian state functions both politically and economically. On the one hand it builds up the economic administration of the workers, for the workers and by the workers; and on the other, it crushes counter-revolution, expropriates and suppresses the bourgeoisie as a class and reduces them to the labor strata, neutralizes the intermediary classes and wins them over to the side of the proletariat; isolates the rich peasants who align themselves with the speculators in withholding their grain and wheat from the Workers' Government for speculative purposes, etc.

Those who cannot or will not see this double role of the proletarian state, (in reality they are simply both sides of one shield, both equally important and equally necessary in the process of bringing the Communist society), are either fools or rascals, or both.

To rail against the political function of the Proletarian State while minimizing its economic reconstruction is to display a complete lack of revolutionary consciousness, which unfits any man or organization from leadership of the class-conscious workers or any part of them. Nor will the policy, adopted at the last convention of the I. W. W., of refraining from attacking the Communists, change the situation. Neutrality is even worse. There can be no such thing as "neutrality" in the revolutionary movement. "Neutrality" invariably leads to the camp of the opposition. Are the I. W. W. prepared to go that far?

We urge the revolutionary rank and file of the I. W. W. to read the literature of Communism, to study the question of proletarian dictatorship, and force their leaders to change the attitude of the I. W. W. before it shall become too late.

### RESOLUTION ON UNITY WITH THE U. C. P.

Adopted by the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America.

"Unity with the U. C. P. as a party of Centrists, is impossible. We can unite only with such membership, or parts of the U. C. P. that will repudiate their Centrist leadership and join the Communist Party on the basis of our principles, program, and tactics."

### SOME DECISIONS OF THE C. E. C.

New rate on dues-stamps shall take effect on September 1st.

Organization Committees instructed to take up the question of organizing the Pacific Coast and report about same at the next C. E. C. meeting.

Secretary instructed to send letter to the U. C. P. demanding return of funds and property turned over to the U. C. P. by Damon

Editorial Department is instructed to prepare and submit a revised copy of the Manifesto to the next C. E. C. meeting.

The Communist, official organ, shall be sold for five cents in the future.

To issue a call for One Day's Pay as passed by the convention.

To issue the next Communist as a Convention Number.

All heads of departments and district organizers were appointed.

Departmental heads to report at every C. E. C. meeting.

### EXERPT FROM THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL'S STATEMENT ON THE ABOLITION OF THE AMSTERDAM SUB-BUREAU.

The Committee declares that it has "unanimously recognized that to refuse to utilize the parliamentary arm, to renounce the effort to promote the revolutionary spirit of the labor unions from within—all this comes from an insufficient appreciation of the role of the Communist parties as agents of universal revolution, finds itself in flagrant contradiction with the interests of the working class, and will end in transforming the struggle for dictatorship into an empty phrase.

"The executive committee has charged composing a memoir and thesis on these questions. It has unanimously decided to annul the charter of the Amsterdam Bureau, it being granted that the bureau maintains on all these questions a point of view opposite to that of the Executive Committee."